Volume LXXXV CHICAGO, April 15, 1920 Number 7

UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918

THE CITY OF GOD

O thou not made with hands,
Not throned above the skies,
Nor wall'd with shining walls,
Nor framed with stones of price,
More bright than gold or gem,
God's own Jerusalem!

Where'er the gentle heart
Finds courage from above;
Where'er the heart forsook
Warms with the breath of love;
Where faith bids fear depart,
City of God! thou art.

Thou art where'er the proud
In humbleness melts down;
Where self itself yields up;
Where martyrs win their crown;
Where faithful souls possess
Themselves in perfect peace.

Where life's common ways
With cheerful feet we go;
When in His steps we tread
Who trod the way of woe;
Where He is in the heart,
City of God! thou art.

Not throned above the skies,
Nor golden-wall'd afar,
But where Christ's two or three
In His name gather'd are,
Be in the midst of them,
God's own Jerusalem!

—*Francis Turner Palgrave.*

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PUBLISHED WEEKLY

UNITY

ESTABLISHED 1878

$3.00 PER ANNUM.

With THE FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA, THE CONGRESS OF RELIGIONS, and all other organizations and individuals seeking to widen fellowship and to realize the Brotherhood of the Spirit unrimmed by creed, form or sectarian prejudices.

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Vol. 1. March 1, 1872. No. 1.

THE
Pamphlet Mission
FOR
FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP & CHARACTER
IN
RELIGION.

Publishing Committee:
Robert Collyer, Chicago. Wm. C. Gannett, St. Paul.
Jenkin Ll. Jones, Janesville. C. W. Wendte, Cincinnati.
J. C. Learned, St. Louis.

PUBLISHED SEMI-MONTHLY AT 65 WASHINGTON ST., CHICAGO.
Per Year, $1.50. Single Number, 10 Cents.

Frances L. Roberts, 65 Washington St., Chicago, - Business Agent.
J. T. Sunderland, 65 Washington St., Chicago, } Editors of
Geo. W. Cooke, Grand Haven, Mich., - } "Notes and News."

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UNITY PUBLISHING CO., Abraham Lincoln Centre, 700 Oakwood Boulevard, CHICAGO, ILL.
"Entered as Second-Class Matter, January 12, 1899, at the Postoffice at Chicago, Illinois, under Act of March 3, 1879."

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

Vol. LXXXV THURSDAY, APRIL 15, 1920 Number 7

RESURRECTION.

As the slow Evening gather'd in her grey,
And one clear star its ancient pathway trod—
With long, low cadences of her dear delay
The lark, descending, left his song with God!
And Peace came, like a reverential soul,
With far-off tremors of a further world,
And thro' the silver mist of twilight stole
Unto the heart of all. And upward curl'd
The April moon, resurgent of the sun,
To the blue dusk of the exalted dome
Of heav'n; and the white wind-flowers, one by one,
Shook in light slumber on their hilly home.
It was so sweet to stoop and feel around!
Each blade of grass a breathing lyre of life
Whereon the wind, in arias of sound,
Told subtle music; how the great World, rife
With scent of violet, and primrose-strewn,
Strain'd tender fingers from each dewy sod
To the dear Christ of chrysalis and moon—
And, dusk descending, left her soul with God!

—*Fred G. Bowles.*

The Easter Monday (April 5th) newspapers bring us word that French armies are to enter Germany and seize Frankfort, Darmstadt, Hamburg and Hanau—that German troops are pressing hard on the rebels in the Ruhr basin—that the Sinn Fein have started a wave of incendiarism in Ireland—that the Poles are defending themselves gallantly against the advances of the Bolsheviki! As we read of these events transpiring seventeen months after the signing of the Armistice, and nearly a year after the signing of the Treaty of Peace, we are reminded of what Woodrow Wilson said at Buffalo, N. Y., on November 12, 1917, in his address before the Convention of the American Federation of Labor. Referring to the pacifists, the President said:

> What I am opposed to is not the feeling of the pacifists, but their stupidity. My heart is with them, but my mind has a contempt for them. I want peace, but I know how to get it, and they do not.

A protest against the recognition of the Soviet government by the United States has just been forwarded to Washington by more than 400 prominent men and women associated with the Civic Federation. Among the signers of the protest are Lyman Abbott, James M. Beck, Charles W. Eliot, Darwin P. Kingsley, Alton B. Parker, Oscar S. Straus, and Henry W. Taft. We have great respect for some of these names; but we cannot help, all the same, seeing the funny side of such a declaration as this. As though it were any longer left to the free choice of the United States, or any other of the Allied powers, as to what they shall do or not do in relation to Soviet Russia! Initiative in this matter has long since passed from the hands of the Entente and its associates. It is Lenin, and not Lloyd-George or Millerand or even Woodrow Wilson, who is today the arbiter of Europe; and there is nothing to which this enigmatical dictator seems more supremely indifferent than official recognition. "The communications put out by the Soviet Government," says *The Freeman,* in a recent issue, "do not show the slightest interest in diplomatic relations. . . . What the Soviet Government wants is trade, and it is getting trade in gratifying volume." Incidentally we may marvel at men and women urging a government, which recognized the Czar yesterday, and recognizes Roumania today, to deny recognition to the Soviets!

The ousting of the five Socialists from the New York Assembly is "nothing short of calamity," says Charles E. Hughes. It is indeed!—"calamity" not for the Socialists, whose cause of agitation and propaganda has been swiftly advanced by Speaker Sweet and his henchman, but for America and the glory of her political institutions. Representative government has been overthrown. The Constitution, both of state and nation, has been turned into "a scrap of paper." For the first time in the history of the Republic, duly chosen representatives of the people have been denied their rights and privileges not because they were guilty of any crime, but simply and solely because their opinions were unacceptable to the majority. What such action means, of course, is obvious. If allowed to stand, it means that the American government has fallen into the hands of a selfish and tyrannical group of autocrats, who will brook no interference with their rule. It means that lovers of liberty are again faced by the challenge which produced the Declaration of Independence and its immortal dictum—

> that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; and that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it. * * *

But we refuse to believe that this incredible outrage will be allowed to stand. Not yet are the orderly processes of government at an end in America. For the moment, the man who believes in political methods of reform is put to confusion; every anarchist in the country has been given abundant ammunition by their fellow anarchists in Albany. But this hour of black reaction will pass. The very madness of the junkers will prove their own undoing. Lovers of liberty everywhere, regardless of

party or opinion, will arise, and enter upon the high task of vindicating afresh the free institutions of America. We believe today what we asserted when these Socialists were suspended on January 7th last, that this case of high-handed tyranny marks the flood-tide of repression in the United States. Just now everything seems to be overwhelmed and swept away. But the tide is turning; for the moment it holds its own, and threatens even to surge still higher. But it is turning! A few more days, or weeks, and it will fall with a speed which will surprise us all.

The National Security League has selected May 1st for observance throughout the country as "Americanization Day." This selection is worthy of the dangerous purposes and selfish ideals of this malevolent organization. For May Day is everywhere known as the great festal occasion of international labor. On this day, for many years, workers of all countries have celebrated the cause of social democracy, pledged anew their allegiance to one another, and proclaimed the happy time when all men should be economically as well as politically free. Now for the National Security League to intrude upon this sacred day, with its interpretation of Americanism in terms of national exclusiveness, hostility to all things foreign, and contempt for all wider visions of human brotherhood, is to guarantee trouble. It is a direct invitation to a repetition in many places of the Centralia tragedy. For it means a clash of two mutually exclusive types of patriotism—that lower patriotism which identifies love of country with suspicion and hatred of all other countries, and that higher patriotism which sublimates love of country into that passion for internationalism which is at bottom the love of man. There would seem to be enough days in the national calendar for the Security League to disport itself in! This one great day in May should be left to labor to keep alive, in this period of gross darkness, the flickering flames of goodwill and universal peace.

The work of prison reform still calls for the most zealous and devoted service on the part of all friends of humankind. We still tolerate jails which belong not to our time but to the Middle Ages, and still visit upon helpless prisoners forms of punishment which would be a disgrace to savages. For example, we have before us a letter written by a man recently released from Joliet Prison, and addressed to a prison reform publication:

"Your description in your December issue," says the writer, "does not begin to describe the conditions there. I have seen men shot for going for water without permission, so the man claims who done the shooting. I have seen men beaten up for lying in cell too weak from sickness to get up; have seen them shackled up in cell-house when dungeon was too full to hold any more; stand until they fell and then jumped on and kicked and left lying on floor still shackled to lower bars. The men who done this are still in the employ of the State of Illinois or were up to September 30th.

Since I have come out I have been working * * * and am making good, or at least trying to."

Similar conditions of treatment have been revealed with horrifying frequency in the many investigations conducted during the last two years on behalf of conscientious objectors and political offenders. Torture by shooting and flogging, solitary confinement in dungeon holes, assaults with clubs and fire-hose, immersion in the filth of latrines and sewers, chaining fast to cell doors for hours at a stretch, and always of course the fiendish enormity of capital punishment—these are the things which we have to contemplate to our shame. The test of a civilization, it has been said, is its treatment of its weakest and least worthy members. If this is true, we have no civilization. As for religion, what know we of the spirit of him who lived and died for the sake of "the least of these, my brethren"?

There is no wiser or more discerning religious leader in America today than Dr. Francis G. Peabody of Cambridge. His has always been the gift of foresight—as witness his very early discovery and acceptance of the social tendencies in modern religious life. Furthermore, Dr. Peabody's utterances have always been characterized by sobriety as well as vision—he has been a scientific observer quite as much as a poet and a preacher. It is facts such as these which give more than ordinary weight to a statement recently made at a meeting of the Cambridge Community Forum.

"The best sign of the present time for the church," said Dr. Peabody, "is the attempt that is making at so many points to escape from the preposterous sin of sectarianism and attain through simplicity some form of unity, where creeds shall be set behind character and logic behind life, and doctrine behind duty, and sects behind service.

There can be no question that the swing away from denominationalism is the one supremely significant and hopeful sign in the religious life of our time. All the vitality that there is in organized religion at this moment is wrapped up in this tendency. It is this fact which makes so ridiculous and depressing the hysterical endeavors that are now being made to galvanize into some show of activity the dead or dying sectarian machines of Protestantism. And this also which makes so full of promise such a movement as that of the community church! If there is any future for organized religion it is with those men and churches which have put denominationalism definitely behind them, for the sake at last of "unity of spirit."

It is a satisfaction to hear that the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ of America is using its influence to stop the tendency now well under way to use the Americanization movement as a cloak for Christian propaganda. In a statement recently issued

by the Central Conference of American Rabbis, the Federal Council, and the Home Missions Council, it is said:

> We disclaim and deplore the use of the term "Americanization" in any case where it is made to mean or to imply that there is no distinction between the words "Americanization" and "Christianization," or carries the implication that Jews or people of other religions and other races are not good Americans. No church should use the term "Americanization" as a cloak for proselytizing to its distinctive religious views.

UNITY rejoices in this statement; it is a proclamation of all that it has been standing for, lo, these many years. The first step toward spiritual unity is respect one for another. Out of respect will come love, and out of love, the organization of brotherhood. Jews and Christians here in America are destined to become ever more and more one, not by Jews becoming Christians, or Christians becoming Jews, but by both becoming to the full the neighbor, the fellow-citizen, the spiritual brother, in which they realize and fulfill together the common life of men.

Literary critics have of late been amusing themselves by discussing sea-stories. Christopher Morley has had the courage to answer the question, What are the ten best books of the sea, as follows:

"Typhoon," by Joseph Conrad.
"The Nigger of the Narcissus," by Joseph Conrad.
"The Mirror of the Sea," by Joseph Conrad.
"Captains Courageous," by Rudyard Kipling.
"Treasure Island," by Robert Louis Stevenson.
"The Promotion of the Admiral," by Morley Roberts.
"Mr. Midshipman Easy," by Captain Marryat.
"The Wreck of the Grosvenor," by Clark Russell.
"Moby Dick," by Herman Melville.
"Letters from an Ocean Tramp," by William McFee.

This list, of course, exists for the purpose of being criticized. We do not hesitate to declare, therefore, that it is to our way of thinking a most extraordinary list. Mr. Morley confesses that Dana's "Two Years Before the Mast" is not included because he has never read it—which is a poor excuse. "Mr. Midshipman Easy" is a weak substitute for Captain Marryat's much more thrilling tale, "The Phantom Ship." Where is Sir Walter Scott's matchless novel, "The Pirate"? What has become of Charles Kingsley's "Westward Ho"? Is Hugo's "Toilers of the Sea" so soon forgot? And what shall we think of a list of books of the sea, even as few as ten in number, which does not include James Fenimore Cooper's "The Pilot," "The Water Witch," and "Wing and Wing"? But perhaps we should not be too severe. After all, the joy of arranging or criticizing a list of best books is not that of presenting anything authoritative, but only that of feeling the consciousness of our own inferior judgment by stating our preference and finding nobody to agree with us.

What is the Mission of the Churches?

We have on several occasions commented in these columns on what the dominant influences of our day seem to regard as the mission of the churches. There was a good old-fashioned time when the churches were supposed to serve certain spiritual ends, both individual and social. They were institutions set apart from the ordinary walks of life for the business of maintaining moral ideals, cherishing standards of character, sustaining movements of reform and social betterment; above all, of preparing the way for that new and better world which Jesus called the "Kingdom of God," and which we are learning to describe in our age by the more modern phrase, "the democracy of man."

Indications are multiplying, however, that the churches are in our time undertaking to serve much more definite purposes, material rather than spiritual, in their nature and aim. The Great War was a striking example of the extent to which the governing powers of mankind regarded the churches as useful civil instruments for the business of prosecuting war. Some of us maintained, during the period of struggle against Germany, that a church was the one type of institution which could not by its very nature and history be expected to give support to the gigantic horror of "collective homicide." The church, we felt, stood for universal and not parochial or national interests. Its mission was the establishment of the world-wide brotherhood of man, and not the maintenance and security of any structure of government or type of national culture. Its spirit, we contended, must be that spirit of love which is necessarily at the opposite pole from that spirit of hate and lust which is the controlling passion of international warfare. We could not see how any institution which took the name, and pretended to preach the Gospel, of Jesus of Nazareth, could give recognition to "wars and rumors of wars."

This, of course, was an extreme view, held to only by that little group of non-resistants who, in this age, as in all previous ages, declared war to be antithetical to Christianity. It is conceivable that this attitude was a "counsel of perfection" not possible of acceptance by practical-minded men in so unavoidable a contingency as that forced upon the world by the aggression of German militarism. Even so, however, the churches had a mission which, if not as unique as this, was certainly laid upon them as though by the command of God himself. This was the mission to sustain, amid the strife of arms, the spirit of reconciliation—to bring healing to the wounds which nations were inflicting upon each other—"to seek peace and pursue it," that the war might be ended at the earliest possible moment—to maintain the highest ideals, that men might enter the struggle and fight it through to the end not of national ag-

grandizement, but of the emancipation of mankind from equal disaster in the future. There were other institutions and interests aplenty to carry on the business of war, to maintain the morale of arms, to keep burning the fires of destructive passion. From such things the churches, like the Red Cross, just because of their supremely spiritual character, should have been kept inviolate. Alone of all social institutions, they should have been neutral, in unshaken fidelity to their solemn charge of "love to God and love to man."

That the churches were not willing, or if willing, were not allowed to follow this high spiritual course, is now a fact of history. Everywhere, in all the belligerent countries, the churches became merely cogs in the vast machine of war. Instantly they were transformed into mere governmental agencies for the transaction of military business and the obeying of military orders. No minister's desk was free from constant communications from the War and Navy Departments. No altar was uninvaded by the clash of arms and the cries of hate. Churches, like armories, became recruiting stations and drill grounds. Christianity became identified with patriotism, religion with civil obedience, and the cause of humanity with the cause of government. After such a record as this it is not surprising to find the Adjutant General of the United States addressing a letter to the ministers of the country, stating that "the part the clergy played in sustaining the morale of the army and of the nation during the World War is beyond computation." And now that the war is over, this representative of the War Department would have the churches continue their service to militarism! We were told, to be sure, that this war was "a war to end war." But something has evidently interfered with the fulfillment of this hope, for in this same letter the Adjutant General states to the clergy that "it is earnestly desired that the interest and enthusiasm shown throughout the emergency may now be manifested toward the permanent army"; and enclosed is a circular urging ministers to co-operate in an essay contest in the public schools on the subject of the advantage of enlisting in the army! If this evidence is to be taken seriously, it is plain that the mission of the churches, from the standpoint of the War Department at least, is to make soldiers, to sustain the war spirit, to help conduct the battle whenever it comes along.

Other men and organizations have similarly worldly ideas about the mission of the churches. We would submit as "Exhibit A," so to speak, on this point, the following condensation of a recent report issued by the Babson Statistical Bureau, dated Wellesley Hills, Mass., January 27, 1920:

What is our real security for the stocks, bonds, mortgages, deeds and other investments which we own? Think how dependent you are on the guards of the safe-deposit vault which holds your all. Before the clerk gives you your key, is there anything to prevent him making a duplicate of that key? Moreover, he is probably working for a comparatively small salary. Let us now consider upon what the value of the papers within the box depends. It is the integrity of the men who prepared them, the integrity of the officials who signed them and the integrity of the bankers who sold them.

You may have a mortgage on my house. Your mortgage is of value only as everyone connected with it—the lawyer who drew it—the notary who acknowledged it—and the little stenographer who copied it, up to the jury which is to enforce it, is honest.

All this means that the real security for the stocks, bonds, mortgages, deeds and other investments which we own is the integrity of the community. * * * The value of our investments depends not on the strength of our banks, but rather upon the strength of our churches. The underpaid preachers of the nation are the men upon whom we really are depending rather than the well-paid lawyers, bankers and brokers. The religion of the community is really the bulwark of our investments. And when we consider that only 15% of the people hold securities of any kind and less than 3% hold enough to pay an income tax, the importance of the churches becomes even more evident.

For our own sakes, for our children's sakes, for the nation's sake, let us business men get behind the churches and their preachers! Never mind if they are not perfect, never mind if their theology is out of date. This only means that were they efficient they would do very much more. *The safety of all we have is due to the churches, even in their present inefficient and inactive state. By all that we hold dear, let us from this very day give more time, money and thought to the churches of our city, for upon these the value of all we own ultimately depends!*

That this is no exceptional interpretation of the function expected to be performed by the churches in this modern age, is attested by recent developments of the Interchurch World Movement. In the beginning, this Movement seemed to give real promise of revitalizing the dying forces of Protestantism. The ending of denominational divisions, the prosecution of vigorous social reform work, the interpretation of spiritual redemption in terms of the life that now is rather than of the life that is to come—all these were dominant notes in the early messages spoken by the leaders of the Interchurch campaign. Then suddenly, as though a veil had been lifted, or a smoke screen blown away, the announcement was made of the great "drive" for hundreds of millions of dollars, and of the support in this "drive" of the great financial interests of the country. Thus the newspapers of March 25 last contained the following dispatch, dated "Washington, D. C., March 24":

Directors of the Interchurch World Movement announced yesterday that "big business" and "Wall Street" are behind their Nation-wide movement against bolshevism and "redism," and that Wall Street's wealth, "represented by the chief multi-millionaire groups," has been pledged to insure success of proposals to cope with the "reds" and kindred evils. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., is represented as being particularly interested in the anti-Bolshevist movement.

"John D. Rockefeller, Jr.," says the official statement issued by the Interchurch World Movement directors, "called here on business at the treasury, conferred with interchurch officials and pledged the support of 'big business' toward the new world movement of relief and education. Speaking for himself and a group of his associates, including former Justice Charles E. Hughes, Cleveland H. Dodge and Alfred E. Marling, he declared that the present interchurch survey, directed against radicalism, is 'the most thorough, comprehensive and far-reaching ever devised to stem the tide of evil now rampant in Europe."

"Mr. Rockefeller and other industrial leaders, it was said, have assured interchurch officials of their support without

stint in the present big undertakings. Business leaders, eager to check the spread of anti-government doctrines from abroad, consider the interchurch world program far more practical in its immediate educational effects than any project heretofore initiated.

"Men who control the purse strings of gigantic business fields frankly confess themselves alarmed at the partial failure of governmental agencies at home to cope with the 'red' evil. They fear it is merely lying dormant. By methods which would Christianize and Americanize the elements weak enough to accept the doctrines with which central and eastern Europe is now inflamed they urge that no cheese paring policy be followed. They heartily endorse vigorous action."

Here is impressive confirmation, from sources wholly friendly to our established churches, of the charge which has been made for years past, that the churches today, like the newspapers and the colleges, are simply instruments of the existing commercial and political system. What can be more sinister than the deliberate taking over of the vast Interchurch World Movement by the conservative financial interests of the country, for the purpose of combating and destroying the so-called "red menace"! Evidently, in the eyes of those who sit in the seats of power these days, the churches are to be regarded simply as weapons for defending and maintaining the *status quo*. And, what is even more significant, the churches are apparently acquiescing in this interpretation of their appointed mission. For there are abundant evidences that the leaders of our great denominational machines are glad to accept the support of "big business," and to commend themselves in influential quarters as the appointed guardians of stocks and bonds.

To us, all such interpretation of the mission of the churches, is as intolerable as it is disgusting. If it be true that our institutions of religion have no other and higher duty than that of enabling those who hold the power and wealth of the world to maintain their possessions in security, we would wish that every church might have its doors closed and sealed tomorrow morning, that every church building might be razed to the ground, that every minister might be relieved of his sinecure and made to do an honest piece of work in the world of men. If this is the situation to which we have come, that the churches are to keep our stocks and bonds at par, then we would say that the sooner Bolshevism comes and takes over the churches, that they may be used for public and not for private interests, the better for us all. We hold that we are faithful to no wild dreams of revolution, but only to the soundest and sanest traditions of the spirit, when we assert that the mission of the churches is that of dedication not to the world as it is, but to the world as it ought to be. If we read the story of religion aright, the churches have performed their truest function only when they have accepted the leadership of free prophets of the soul, and given themselves utterly to the emancipation of mankind from hoary tyrannies and monstrous oppressions. "Behold, I make all things new"—this is the cry which is heard whenever religion seizes truly upon men, and leads them to the doing of its proper work. Are there not institutions enough in the world to build high the bulwarks of reaction and conservation, without harnessing the churches to this dull business? Have not the war-makers, and the business-mongers, and the political manipulators, enough weapons to their hand for the slaying of men's peace and liberty, without arming the churches for this cruel enterprise? Shall there not be left one organized interest in society which shall think of the future before it thinks of the past, be tender of the multitude before it is tender of those who are favored of this world's fortune, be rigorous in its pursuit of the perfect ideal of social life rather than of the exact technicalities and quibbles of the established order of our time? If religion falters, where shall men look for the fulfillment of their hope? If the churches speak not of the Kingdom, where shall men find the message of the better day? The churches have much to account for in their many failures in the past, but no failure of them all would be comparable to the gross betrayal of surrendering in this age their enormous power to the service of those who would reinslave the sons of men.

We revert again and yet again to the story of Jesus as the perfect example of our meaning. The Nazarene came with his simple message of the "Kingdom of God." He sought the establishment of a new social order which should bring greater freedom and larger happiness to the common people. He was a reformer—a revolutionist, if you will—proclaiming the coming of a glad new world. Opposed to him was the military imperialism of Rome and the big business interests of Judea. Together they sought to capture the Temple and the synagogues, to help them overthrow the great new movement for human emancipation led by this dangerous agitator from Nazareth. And they succeeded! Today this tremendous spiritual drama is being acted anew. The Nazarene is once again walking the ways of men, proclaiming as ever the new and better day. Now, as formerly, the common people hear him gladly, and they arise to pass judgment upon the world that is, and to do battle for the better world that is to be. Again the great war machines are busy to defeat men's hopes, and the vast commercial interests organize themselves to beat down the struggling masses of mankind. Again these gross conspirators reach forth their ugly hands to seize upon the churches and use them for the doing of their work. Will they succeed again? It would seem impossible that churches which take the name of the Nazarene, and hail it as the symbol of God's presence upon the earth, should be blind to what is going on, and should lend themselves to this business of spiritual treason. But such would seem to be what is happening at this

moment. If the churches are to be saved and their true mission subserved, then must they be rescued at once by drastic measures of revolt, from the menace which is now overhanging them.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

CONTRIBUTED

Another Living Memorial to Jenkin Lloyd Jones

All but the newest of UNITY's readers will recall the interest often expressed by their late Editor in the Lincoln Memorial University at Harrogate, Tennessee, where he had several times lectured before the students and where he visited with the entire Lincoln Centre party at the time he conducted the Service of Remembrance at the shrine which encloses the cabin in which Lincoln was born.

Before Mr. Jones's death, the suggestion had been made by friends at the University that a Jenkin Lloyd Jones Chair of Literature be established there which would provide for a definite number of lectures by Mr. Jones each year during his lifetime and perpetuate his name and the spirit of his literary interpretation for the future. With characteristic modesty, he shrank from taking any part in such an honor though he expressed pleasure in the idea. After his death, the matter was taken up most vigorously by Dr. George A. Hubbell, President of the Lincoln Memorial University, a committee of well-known friends of Mr. Jones's was appointed, and the work has steadily gone on of raising an endowment of $30,000 for the establishment of such a chair.

Concerning the plan in detail, President Hubbell has this to say:

It is the plan and purpose that the Jenkin Lloyd Jones Chair of Literature shall project, impress and kindle in the students of the University, the spirit, teachings and enthusiasm for life and its problems which so marked the work of Dr. Jones.

By this agency we shall incorporate at Lincoln Memorial University in the heart of the Cumberlands something of the abiding qualities of this great man, not forgetting his courage, his hope and his faith in the final triumph of the Divine in man.

A part of the plan which is of peculiar interest to the general public and to UNITY's readers is that which contemplates the setting aside of a portion of the income of the Endowment of the Chair to further the publication of some of the manuscripts left by Mr. Jones. These will include "Abraham Lincoln, the Product and Prophecy of Democracy," which was completed by him during the last two years of his life, a collection of his literary essays, and a Life of Mr. Jones, on which work had already been begun by him.

This plan meets the approval of the Literary Executors named by Mr. Jones: Mrs. Jessie Shears Carnovale, Chicago; Mrs. Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Chicago; Hon. William Kent, Washington, D. C.; Mrs. Francis Neilson, Chicago; Miss Evelyn Walker, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

In the early summer of 1918 there came to a member of his church, almost like an inspiration, the conception of a Founders' Tablet for Lincoln Centre. It was to bear the medalion head of Mr. Jones, the names of the founders, appropriate records and inscriptions. There were a half-dozen sittings, and with wonderful fidelity and insight, Mr. Albin Polasek, the artist, caught the spirit of the great leader and teacher. A replica of an appropriate part of this tablet will be unveiled at the University on May 4. For in such measure as is possible, we would have all the deathless part of him wrought into the scholarship, and thought, and life of all the young people of Lincoln Memorial University, whom he loved with a peculiar affection as a part of his great world-parish.

Of the University itself and its splendid work among the mountain whites of the entire region of which Harrogate is a center, it is hardly necessary to speak.

This institution is designed not only to honor the name of Lincoln, to teach patriotism, to develop citizens, but it is serving as an intellectual and moral stimulus in the education of hundreds upon hundreds of that type of men from which Lincoln came. In a special sense, this school, planted in the heart of the Southern Mountains of our country, appealed to the glowing and poetic soul of Jenkin Lloyd Jones. In the quiet of the home and in familiar conversation he often expressed his hope and ambition for this institution; his faith in its name and its possibilities. Here he felt at home. He heartily approved the plan for a Chair of Literature to bear his name.

Of his second visit to the University, Mr. Jones wrote: "At this educational center, which monopolizes the wonderful landscape and inspired spiritual commitment, the work of transforming the boys and girls, in this most severely localized and heretofore isolated section of our country, into self-reliant citizens not only of the nation but of the world, is a story as encouraging as it is unique. The L. M. U. is a working institution. It is a place where students, coming afoot when necessary, succeed in winning their way through College by virtue of the diligence of their own hands, the investment of their own muscle, directed by the self-denying spirit within themselves.

"The message of the lecturer was received with avidity by minds as clear as the mountain air and hearts as frank and sincere as the mountain brooks. The lecturer found this young blood pulsing with courage, independent of the excitement of the day, because they were enjoying the inspirations of the ages, the perennial courage-making material offered by the master-minds."

The University was organized under the laws of Tennessee and includes schools of Business, Domestic Science, Industrial Arts, Agriculture, Music and Departments of Letters and Science leading to Bachelor of Science and Bachelor of Arts degrees. It is in session twelve months in the year, and has 630 students from seventeen states and three foreign countries. It owns a farm of 792 acres of blue grass land, with eight large buildings and a dozen smaller ones. Its college colors, the blue and the gray, symbolize a re-united country. Its aims are loyalty, enterprise, efficiency, character. It is Christian but undenominational.

The efforts of the committee have brought the collection of the funds to a point where only a few thousands remain to be secured. A special effort is being made to complete the sum at once so that the dedication of the Chair and the unveiling of the bas relief may take place as part of the Commencement exercises of the University on May 4th. The Committee has refrained from burdening UNITY's pages and readers with this matter until the goal was fairly in sight. Now it asks for all possible aid from both new and old readers of this paper in contributing these final thousands which will not only help to continue the fine work the University is carrying on in a much needed field as a living memorial to the great Emancipator, but will insure the continuation in that institution of the spirit and ideals of that lover of Lincoln whose life has already touched with splendid helpfulness the lives of the student body. To Lincoln Centre and to UNITY this plan adds a third living memorial to the prophet soul who was their inspiration and guiding-power.

The Committee asks for cash contributions or pledges of sums ranging from one dollar to any sum available, to be sent to Judge Evan A. Evans, Chair-

man of the Committee, at the Federal Building, Chicago, or to the Unity Publishing Company, 700 Oakwood Blvd., Chicago. Such contributions serve a most worthy cause and one which should appeal to all persons who believe in education and in the principles for which UNITY stands, as well as to those who from a more personal viewpoint wish to honor their late editor in a way he would have liked.

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Why Was Jesus Neglected?

By Ignatius Singer

The above title is not of my choosing. It has been suggested to me by the editors as a theme for an article on Jesus. I myself would prefer the question to be, Why has Jesus been rejected?

To find an answer to this question we need only contemplate what Jesus taught. Not, indeed, what priestcraft has falsely attributed to him, but what he actually did teach, live and die for—as far as this can be gathered from the fragments of his utterances which are scattered among the legendary records of the Gospels.

The task of separating these passages from the mass of anecdotal and legendary lore is by no means so difficult as theologians represent it to be and as is commonly believed. The Gospels are a sort of literary *bric-à-brac,* a mass of confused anecdotal matter collected and put down, item after item, "even as it was delivered," without regard to contents, coherence, sequence, system or method; recording a superabundance of contradictions, absurdities and fantastic, incredible "miracles" which have no relevancy at all to Jesus or his teaching.

Scattered among such rodomontade we find passages of sane and thoughtful dissertations which in style, diction, theme, aim, and purpose are as different from the rest of the Gospels as it is possible for any two compositions to be; so that there is no difficulty in picking out these profoundly sage and sober utterances from among the literary detritus in which they are embedded. When we have done so, we are in possession of all the genuine utterances of Jesus which have come down to us.

In these texts we find discourses on different subjects of life and social relationships, all inspired by the same spirit, the same trend of thought, the same aim and purpose; which facts unmistakably betoken identity of authorship for these intercalated texts; and different authorship of these fragments from that of the remaining parts of the Gospels.

Here are a few of these passages which the reader may peruse for himself:

The Sermon on the Mount (Matt. V. 3 to VII. 27).

The Parable of the Last Judgment (Ibid XXV. 31-46).

The Disputation with a heckling lawyer (Ibid XXII. 35-40).

The Parable misnamed as that of The Good Samaritan, which I prefer to describe as The Parable of Priest, Levite and Samaritan (Luke X. 25-37).

The Interview with the "Rich Young Man" (Matt. XIX. 16-19), and a few others.

No matter in what order we arrange or read these discovered fragments, they all reveal the same basic thought. Few and terse as they are, there is no mistaking their meaning or the spirit which has inspired them. No teacher was ever more concise, more explicit, or more emphatic.

That was the misfortune of Jesus; for his lucidity was a great source of embarrassment to "the high priests and elders" of his time, and has remained to this day an insurmountable stumbling block to Christian commentators and propagandists.

No! Jesus has not been neglected—far from it. He had more expositors and "interpretors" than all other teachers, philosophers or prophets put together. And if he is not understood today it is not because he had no commentators, but because he had far too many of them—to confuse people. Thousands and thousands of volumes have been written, are still being written, to prove that Jesus did not say what he is reported to have said; or, if he said it, he did not mean exactly what his words so plainly and distinctly express; and that in any case what he did say, if ever he did say it, is impracticable, idealistic nonsense.

This is about the net result arrived at by learned "divines" who have been called upon to interpret—or rather to mystify—the utterances of Jesus when these could no longer be kept dark because of some wicked men who insisted on translating the Gospels. But as the clear statements of Jesus could not be got rid of in this way even by the most skillful of dialectics, all that Jesus said or taught was bundled together and under the designation of "The Ethics of Jesus" was consigned to Sunday Schools and nurseries, there to be used occasionally as texts for homiletics.

Jesus has not been neglected but rejected. No teacher has ever received so much attention as Jesus, from the time of Annas and Caiaphas down to "the priests and elders" of today. Not, however, with the object to elucidate, but rather to obscure or to suppress his teachings.

"The priests and elders" of his time got rid of Jesus by having him crucified. But it was his body only which they killed. The Spirit which inspired him is living still, and just now is greatly disturbing the equanimity of "the priests and elders," or "priests, princes, and magnates," of today.

The doctrines of Jesus are not acceptable to the worshippers of Mammon, and therefore are rejected by the churches which they support and which are in their service. For whatever "Christ" or "Christianity"

may have meant to the early Christians, ever since the "Faith" has been embraced by Constantine, the "Saint," the teaching of Jesus had to be made subservient to the claims and wishes of "His Most Gracious and All-highest Majesty." Since then it has been the duty of the churches to obscure or to discredit the teachings of Jesus, for—as Jesus said so truly—No man can serve two masters. * * * You cannot serve both God and Mammon.

The exhortation

> Call no man master upon earth, for One is your master, the Father which is in heaven, and all ye are brethren,

is plainly inadmissible in the temples of Mammon.

Nevertheless, let us consider what Jesus taught—not in the light of Christian propagandists and interpreters, but as commented on and interpreted by the Great Teacher himself.

Jesus compressed his tenets into the two ancient Commandments, Love thy God, and Love they neighbour as thyself. On these two Commandments he centres all his precepts, counsels, exhortations or injunctions. In his own words

> On these two Commandments hang all the law and the prophets,

and,

> There is none greater than these two Commandments.

These comments rule out of court all the claims of the churches (in this term I always include also "Chapels") for their dogmas or doctrines as being of higher authority or importance than what they deprecatingly call "the ethics of Jesus."

Let me emphasize here that what the churches designate as "mere ethics," and what they declare to be of no practical value or importance is all that we possess of the genuine teachings of Jesus; and that in eliminating these Commandments and precepts, all the genuine teaching of Jesus contained in the Gospels is rejected. What is left of "Christianity" are dogmas and doctrines about which Jesus knew nothing.

It is a remarkable fact though little known to the general public, that not a single Christian dogma or doctrine is based on the teachings of Jesus; nor is there a single dogma or doctrine which is not a negation of the Two Commandments on which Jesus centers "all the law and the prophets." The churches have retained nothing of Jesus beyond his name.

A further comment of Jesus is that "the second Commandment is like unto the first;" is, in fact, its corollary. Which means, as Jesus has so admirably explained in The Parable of the Last Judgment, that we can hallow the Fatherhood of God only by a full recognition of the Brotherhood of Man. In short, according to Jesus and according to commonsense, there is no way of serving God save by serving his children. God is the Father of us all, for

> He maketh his sun to rise on the good and on the evil, and sendeth his rain on the just and on the unjust;

therefore all men are—or should be—joint inheritors of the Father's bounty.

But this is a doctrine which today no Christian minister of repute would dare preach from his pulpit, whatever might be his private opinions on the subject. He would risk his reputation, be ostracised by his fellow-ministers, and in all probability lose his living.

Let us recognize the fact that if Jesus came today preaching what he taught, that there is scarcely a pulpit in Christendom which he would be allowed to occupy. The few exceptions are quite negligible.

This calls to mind another question bearing on the one now under consideration; namely, Why has Christianity failed in its pretended mission?

There are two answers to this question, depending on what is understood by "Christianity." If by it is meant what Jesus has taught, then the answer is, Because it has never yet been tried; has not even been seriously considered as a practical Social System. The churches have jettisoned every word uttered by Jesus; have deprecated all he taught.

But if by "Christianity" is meant the sibylline cult of the churches, then the answer is that the churches have failed because they never intended to succeed in the sense of redeeming mankind. Jesus proclaimed the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man. But those are propositions which no "loyal minister of Christ"—alias Mammon—dare defend or propagate except only as a meaningless sentiment.

As before stated, there is nothing which is common between the real Jesus and the "Christ" of the churches save the one dictum that "No man can serve two masters."

Laymen who have paid attention to the matter are beginning to discriminate between the two conceptions of "Christianity," and the barbaric word "church's unity" has been proposed to distinguish the "camouflage" of the churches from the "Christianity" of the true disciples of Jesus. For the two conceptions and their connotations are as far apart as are right and wrong, good and evil, truth and deceit, yes and no.

But let us be just. Although Jesus was not the founder of Christianity* fragments of his utterances have accidentally been incorporated in the Gospels which the churches of today—as already stated—have rejected. But it was not always so. The early Christians, known as "the Christian Fathers," had accepted all that was contained in the Gospels as of equal value and authority. They believed as truly in the Sermon on the Mount as in the miracle of the Gadarene swine; and in their writings the teaching of Jesus is prominent, as will be seen from the following excerpts:

> "No man shall come into our commune who sayeth that the land may be sold. God's footstool is not property." (St. Cyprian.)
>
> "God gave the same earth to be cultivated by all. Since, therefore, his bounty is common, how comes it that you have so many fields and your neighbour not even a clod of earth?" (St. Chrysostome.)
>
> "The soil was given to the rich and poor in common. * * * The pagans hold earth as property. They do blaspheme God." (St. Ambrose.)
>
> "They wrongfully think they are innocent who claim for themselves the common gift of God." (St. Gregory the Great.)

But all this began to change when Constantine the Great perceived the great possibilities of a religion which commanded such unfailing devotion and obedience to its presbytery, if that religion could be impressed into the service of the State—that is, made subservient to the will of the Ruler. Constantine, destined to be sainted, conceived the idea to make the experiment; became a convert of the then not very popular religion—and that speedily brought to an end the ethical and religious side of the faith. The church then entered the service of Mammon and—of course—as it is impossible to serve two masters, the church

*The reader is referred to my work "The Rival Philosophies of Jesus and of Paul" (London: George Allen & Unwin; and Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Co.) in which the origin of the Christ-myth and the history of the real Jesus are discussed at some length. He will find there many things fully explained which can only be touched upon here.

became gradually a political machine to keep in order, submission and contentment—not the children of the Father which is in heaven, but the servants, vassals, serfs and slaves of "His Most Exalted and Most Gracious Majesty, the Anointed of God."

Such a transfer of allegiance from a divine mission to the service of sordid venality is not effected in a single stroke, nor probably as the result of deliberation. The change takes place slowly and gradually. But it is not difficult to imagine what is bound to happen when the high priests of a cult are dependent on the favour of a potentate. God is far away; the promised rewards or threatened punishments after death are, after all, shadowy and illusory; whereas the presence of the mighty King is real, and his smiles or frowns are potent in their effects. It is a choice between God and Mammon, with the chances all in favour of the latter.

I do not suggest that the Christian Fathers of those days, or the days immediately following, thus suddenly or deliberately betrayed their trust. Constantine the Cunning can be credited with greater shrewdness than to attempt to bring about such a sudden change. Probably many of the presbyters would have preferred martyrdom to the Christian fellowship of the mighty King had they foreseen what was bound to happen as the result of the august conquest. But to the members of a hitherto persecuted sect it is no small matter to gain the mere favour of a King. How much greater then must be the joy to be able to receive him in the fold as a veritable convert!

Who, in such a moment of rejoicing would be likely to remember the stern warning

> Call no man master upon earth, for One is your master, the Father which is in heaven, and all ye are brethren.

The temptation was great; the injunction was forgotten; Mammon took the place of God and the "Church of Christ" became the handmaid of sordid interests. And the church has loyally kept her compact with Mammon, and since then has been a devoted servitor to the strong and the powerful.

The commandment which condemns the dominance of man over man is—of course—not admissible at royal courts. The name only of Jesus is retained as a bait, and some of his seemingly harmless precepts are displayed on suitable occasions as window-dressing. But his two great Commandments on which hang all the law and the prophets have been proscribed. Kings have no use for them.

But in rejecting these basic laws the churches have severed the only thread which connected their Cult with Jesus; and that is the reason why Christianity has failed in its pretended mission.

That also explains why the translation of the Gospels has been so vehemently and so barbarously opposed, and why—when translations could no longer be prevented—the passages containing the most telling and most important exhortations of Jesus have been corrupted and obscured by additions, omissions or mistranslations of words or phrases.

It was not Jesus only who paid the penalty of death for declaring that all men have an equal and inalienable right to the bounties of the common Father. Many prophets before him, and many since his time, have been martyred, and the "Church of Christ" is steeped in the blood of men whose only offence was that they called attention to the message of Jesus—

> One is your Father, and all ye are Brethren.

But it is all in vain. Churches, priests, princes, exploiters and oppressors of the disinherited "children of the Father which is in heaven"—the whole of the confederacy of Mammon—are fighting in vain. Their successes are only temporary and always of doubtful value; for they are fighting against destiny.

The law "Do unto others as you would that others should do unto you" is not a human invention which can be set at nought; but a generalization of the facts of social evolution; a principle or law which man must obey or perish. It derives its importance from the fact that it is the secret agency—the unknown and unsuspected principle—which has led mankind, all unknown to themselves, from brute savagedom to the degree of comity and civilization to which different nations or states have so far attained.

The importance of the Law does not rest on the fact that Jesus said so, but on the fact that what he said is true. It is the basic law of social existence; the foundation of every organized society or state; and a community is well or badly governed just in so far, and in so far only, as this basic principle enters into its customs, laws and institutions. The Golden Rule means neither more nor less than Respect for the rights of each other. Without this law as a ruling principle in its constitution a civilized State is impossible. For the only alternative to this law is brute force.

This fact has been overlooked by statesmen and philosophers: whilst the priesthood has been too busy about the affairs of a world in the clouds to learn much about the world here on earth.

Social evolution does not depend on the wishes or arbitrary ordinances of men any more than does the evolution of our bodies, but it is the result of unseen agencies or forces which are as eternal, as irrevocable and as immutable as are the principles or "laws" which govern so-called physical phenomena.

Jesus recognized this fact; saw the light which shone in the darkness and attempted to reveal it to blind, erring, and stumbling man. He did not propose a new world in the clouds as ignorant theologians still persist in teaching, but desired to show the way—the only way—to a new life here on earth by substituting the Reign, or Law, of God for the Anarchy of Man.

All that Jesus taught, all his precepts and counsels, are in direct line of social evolution. History supplies an unbroken chain of evidence that the tendency of man is not towards slavery but towards freedom and equality of rights.

Jesus was unquestionably right in declaring the principle—Do not deny to your neighbor the rights which you claim for yourself—to be the greatest of all commandments; for it is on such a basis only that civilization is possible.

The authority of Jesus is no more necessary for our belief in this all-important and all-embracing "Commandment" than is the authority of, say, Newton for our belief in the reality and importance of the law of gravitation; or the authority of Darwin to prove the verity of the facts of evolution. For these are not human inventions, but discoveries of eternal, immutable principles which—whether we know it or not, whether we like it or not—we must comply with or perish.

Let this fact also be realized that Jesus did not create the spirit which inspired him, nor did that spirit die with him when he breathed his last.

It is the spirit of human strivings, human longings, human hopes and aspirations which has led man from his primitive beginnings to what he is, and which is to lead him to his destiny—a destiny not of his own making or choosing, but forced upon him by a necessity to which he must submit—or perish. The process started before man was conscious of his own existence, before he had assumed human shape,—at a period when he was no more than a shapeless lump of jelly. And ever since then that process of bodily, mental, moral and social evolution has been going on.

The process is slow but steady and progressive; and if only we understood the theory of that process we might do much to accelerate it. "Man can do nothing of himself, only what he seeth the Father does." Which in modern speech means that man can do nothing of his own will except what he learns from nature. At no period of his evolution has man been able to add a cubit to his stature, or to make one hair on his head black or white—except by obeying the laws which govern the process.

The spirit of revolt which now is reverberating the world over is but the articulate expression of that yearning for "the perfect law of liberty" (James V. 25) which has inspired man all through the ages, which has been the active force—the *primum mobile*—of all his doings, strivings, and yearnings. It is the clamor of the disinherited "children of the Father, which is in heaven" for their patrimony, withheld from them by arbitrary force with the knowledge, consent and approval of the churches.

Can they ever hope to get it?

Is a Commonwealth such as Jesus conceived practicable? The answer is that not only is it practicable, but in the end it is inevitable. The whole process of social evolution is tending, and every finger-post in history is pointing in that direction; and the ultimate realization of that ideal can no more be prevented than the evolution of our bodily organization. We may retard or we may hasten the process; but we can no more arrest it than we can prevent a river reaching the ocean by throwing a dam across its path. "Verily I say unto you that it is easier for heaven and earth to pass away, than for one jot or tittle of the Law to fail until all is fulfilled."

THE JOY OF THE DOING.

Madwoman, answer me: where do you go,
Why do you wander the long roads so
With jug of water and torch aflame?
What is the purpose no years can tame?
Over the roads, in dust, in mire,
You carry the water, you carry the fire.
Why do you go with never a wait
At a cottage door or a palace gate?

"Brother, I travel the world's huge span
To daring deeds for the help of man.
If I fail—how awful the mortal cost:
Millions of souls are forever lost!
I carry this water to quench the hells
And break man's fear of their ghastly spells;
And I carry this fire to burn to air
The heavens that lure with the beauty they wear,
For none should do good from the fear of pain,
And none from the lure of a heaven to gain.
So I'll sweep them down into dust and night,
And leave all clear for the soul's great fight."

Nautilus. —*Edwin Markham.*

SELECTED

Free Speech, the Remedy for Unrest

(A Lawyer's Brief)

The subject assigned me is, "The Problem of Free Speech and the Schoolhouse Forum—How It Can Be Solved." My conviction is that this is not a problem, but rather the solution of problems. It is not a problem, but an opportunity, provided we have the courage and patriotism to obey the Federal Constitution.

In view of the serious possible damage to America's original ideals due to the acute attack of hysteria from which the nation is now suffering, our present urgent need is bold and clear thinking. I urge you, therefore, to consider what I regard as the most essential ideal of America and of the Community Center Movement. For the sake of brevity and clarity I state it in the form of a lawyer's brief. The principle here supported has been subjected to the test of experiment and is the product of it.

Should schoolhouses be used for public discussion meetings? Most assuredly. The aim of the Community Center Movement is to develop public schools into People's Universities, and their principal activity is the Forum, in which citizens go to school to each other to equip themselves for the practice of citizenship.

Should there be any limitation on the subjects discussed at such meetings? Certainly not. There should be no censorship of any kind on anything citizens want to say about social, economic or political questions. The reasons which convince me that this is the true American principle and the right policy to pursue, are as follows:

1. It is the *wise* method. If you deny to a group of men the right to say what you think is wrong, it will not be long before you will lose the right to say what you think is right. You can only retain freedom of speech for yourself by granting it to others. Defence of their freedom is self-defence.

2. It is the *safe* method. When men are emotionally stirred over real or supposed wrongs, they need the safety valve which speech gives them. It *may* be dangerous to permit some opinions to be expressed; it *is* more dangerous not to permit them to be expressed. The attempt to prevent an explosion in the boiler by sitting on the safety valves is obviously futile and foolish. It invites disaster. "Suppression is the seed of revolution." History has demonstrated it.

3. It is the *preventive* method. All that most mental diseases, like physical ones, need for their cure is exposure to the fresh air and sunshine. The weakness of wrong opinions stands exposed when submitted to the test of open discussion. They will thus be made harmless. But the merit of right opinions is revealed in the same way. To reject the bad and accept the good, from whatever source they come, is our aim. Free speech may cause temporary disturbance, as it did on a notable occasion once in the open Forum at Nazareth, but Truth is more desirable than Peace, and the only place where one's peace is free from disturbance is the grave-yard.

4. It is the *conservative* method. A community can operate only on the basis of the lowest common

denominator. It can undertake only those activities which public opinion will support. Since, therefore, proposed measures must go through the process of securing public opinion for their support, discussion is a conservative safeguard against hasty action. This is what gives merit to a freeman's inalienable right to trial by jury. It prevents hasty, or unjust, action through enforced open discussion of his case by his fellow citizens.

5. It is the *democratic* method. It stimulates respect for opinions other than our own. "A decent respect for the opinions of mankind," is a necessary safeguard against the illusion that we are infallible. It is the danger against which Oliver Cromwell warned the members of Parliament: "I beseech you, gentlemen, by the mercies of Christ, to remember that it is possible for you to be mistaken."

6. It is the *logical* method. The task of correcting wrong opinion is a spiritual process, and requires a spiritual weapon, that is, discussion. You cannot exterminate an idea with a club; you only scatter it. It must be met on its own ground. The only antidote to a wrong opinion is a right opinion. Hence, Jefferson's great dictum, "Error of opinion may be tolerated, if reason is free to combat it."

7. It is the *only workable* method. There are only two ways to govern a Nation; by the sword or by public opinion,—by force or by reason. If we adopt the method of reason, then freedom of speech must be complete, not partial. Where is the group of self-appointed men, who have the authority or means for determining what subjects citizens may or may not discuss? If a man's speech issue in a material deed intended to hurt the community, then and then only is it a guilty act subject to law. But dogmatically to pre-determine what opinions will be helpful or harmful is an impossibility. This is why the function of law is to deal with overt acts, not with opinions.

8. It is the only *successful* method. The attempt to combat opinion with force instead of reason is a wearisome tale of monotonous failure. It is the method used by the Czar, the Kaiser and by Lenine. That we, in the face of these facts, should keep on repeating demonstrated failures is amazingly stupid. No milder terms describe it, because the method directly promotes the cause it seeks to destroy. The Christian religion owes Nero a big debt of gratitude for the free advertising he gave it by his persecution of it.

9. It is the *only progressive* method. Unless there is freedom to discuss and criticize things as they are, there is no chance to help them become what they ought to be. It is the only method which makes improvement possible. Mark Twain clearly stated the necessity for free discussion, when he said: "My kind of loyalty was loyalty to one's country, not to its institutions. The country is the real thing, the eternal thing. Institutions are extraneous, they are its mere clothing, and clothing can wear out, become ragged. To be loyal to rags, that is a loyalty of unreason. It belongs to monarchy; let monarchy keep it. The citizen who thinks he sees that the commonwealth's clothes are worn out, and yet holds his peace and does not agitate for a new suit, is disloyal; he is a traitor."

10. It is the *only lawful* method. Any American citizen who attempts to discourage freedom of discussion, violates the organic law of the Nation. The first amendment of the Federal Constitution bluntly says freedom of speech must not be abridged. Ours is a government by public opinion, and its prosperity depends on the freedom of forces which mold public opinion.

It is a matter of capital importance in a democracy that its constitutional law should be obeyed. The military theory of government is obedience to a person. The democratic theory is obedience to law. Public officials, or private citizens, who suppress free speech, are law-breakers and should be treated as such. If there be any who disagree with the first amendment, it is their right to agitate for its repeal through our regular and orderly method of making changes in the government, but until it is repealed it should be obeyed.

The strange wave of fear and hysteria and organized panic now causing disobedience to the first amendment to the Constitution is relieved by a touch of a sad sort of humor. The law-breakers at the same time are posing as patriots. Glaringly and persistently they boast about what they are doing and proposing to do to compel "these damn fools" to obey the Constitution. "Blessed is he who bloweth his own horn, lest it be not blown."

It is these gentlemen most of all who need to be Americanized. They are nice enough men personally but they are tragically mistaken about America's ideals and they are pathetically ignorant of human nature. In the process of Americanizing them, the method of reason, rather than force, should be employed with them as with all other citizens. If we attempt to deal with any class of citizens on the slanderous assumption that half of them are "damn fools," nothing but trouble can be expected, and those who make the assumption are responsible for the trouble.

The men who are afraid of open discussion and attempt to suppress by force opinions contrary to their own, reveal thereby an utter lack of confidence in the worth of their own opinions. They also furnish strong ground for the suspicion that they are guilty of practices which will not bear the light of day. They are intelligent enough to appreciate the force of Lincoln's remark, "The best way to spoil a rat hole for rat hole purposes is to turn on the light."

The aim of the Community Center Movement is to organize America into a society with the schoolhouse as the society's home and clubhouse in each local unit. This is America's aim also, for democracy is the organization of society on the basis of friendship. Free trade in friendship is the indispensable requirement for America's success. Fairness, affection, fraternity is the guaranteed solvent of freedom's problems.

More than 90% of all social, industrial and political disputes could be settled in short order, if the parties to them would meet in the same room, put their feet under the same table, look into each other's faces, and resolve to be honest with each other. As a social engineer and speaking accurately from knowledge gained by experimental tests, I have no hesitation in saying that intelligent sympathy, as a method of political procedure, is the one remedy, whose results can be guaranteed.

America as a society means that each member's welfare is its vital concern, that its guiding principle is not the selfish rights of a few members, but its duties

to all the members. If the same fairness, tolerance, affection, willingness to differ in opinion without differing in feeling, now employed in fraternal orders among their own members, were extended to the citizen-members of America as a society, and operated as a policy of political procedure, social unrest would cease, because we would be operating the means by which the causes of unrest could be discovered and removed. At this late day in history, it ought to be clear even to blind men, that unrest will never cease until affection is made a dominant American political policy. It would mean civic sanity and the prevention of an unnecessary and uncalculable loss of life, money and good-will, if America now would respond to Jefferson's plea in his First Inaugural: "Let us restore to social intercourse that harmony and affection, without which liberty and even life itself are but dreary things."

Henry E. Jackson.

THE STUDY TABLE

"The New Social Order."*

Probably no recent book analyzes more accurately the social situation than Prof. Harry F. Ward's book, "The New Social Order." The work is not only scholarly but profound. It is comprehensive in its scope and deals thoroughly with the subject. He has given us such a true picture of things as they are that there is reason to believe that his insight into the future will prove as accurate as his analysis of present conditions.

It is interesting to note that the point of view is that of a teacher of Christian Ethics, Mr. Ward being professor of that subject at Union Theological Seminary, New York. "The principles . . . considered are germinal in the teachings of Jesus." The author clearly points out that the impending social change must be accompanied by fundamental spiritual change or it cannot be. Since this is true, probably no individual is better equipped to analyze and consider the changes now going on than Prof. Ward.

In considering the nature of the new order it is pointed out that humanity is seeking to "exalt service above possessions and to make such changes in the institutions as will cause it to enlarge and not diminish the development of all the people, taken both individually and collectively."

Since "social progress is at heart a moral and religious process" Mr. Ward considers "equality" as the first principle of the new order. He discusses the lack of equality before the law, class privilege, economic, political and educational inequalities. The chapter on equality is best summed up by the statement that "the problem for democracy is to make each count for all that is in him for the common good and to prevent any from counting more than one to the limitation of the development of others."

The author realizes, however, that equality alone will not suffice in the new order. There must be a will to serve. The fundamental instinct to serve is ingrained in humanity in so far as this instinct has been uncorrupted by organized greed. The new spirit of service is coming to the fore and we are beginning to realize that "mutual service is a dominant factor in human association."

The new order must be efficient. If the ideals of the new order are to be realized our efforts must be co-ordinated and we must eliminate the "inefficiency of unapplied knowledge." But the new order must be efficient to the end that personality may be made supreme, that people may be developed, that man may live more abundantly.

Since people the world over are beginning to realize their common need a unity of spirit is developing. The degree of solidarity among those of the new order will depend entirely upon to what extent they realize their common need.

In considering the program of the new order, the author discusses, primarily, the British Labor Party and the Russian Soviet Republic, not overlooking the churches, certain movements in the United States as well as the league of nations.

The present "trend of progress" is toward the goal of the new order—"a fraternal world community, the great loving family of mankind, knit together by common needs but most of all by loyalty to common ideals, and by the power of its common love efficiently directing and controlling its common life." Who would not leap to be numbered among those of the new order?

Norman E. Himes.

*"The New Social Order." Harry F. Ward. *Macmillan.*

GARGOYLES.

"For though I have heard a considerable variety of sermons, I never yet heard one that was so expressive as a Cathedral."—*Robert Louis Stevenson in "An Inland Voyage."*

The Cathedral towers high towards God.
Warm glow of sunrise
In burnished gold
Illumes the Gothic arches
And tips the spires
With molten splendor.
The human soul, inspired,
Sings hymns of praise to God,
Who in His all-embracing wisdom
Rules the world;
But yet—
From out a shadow
Melancholy,
A grinning gargoyle mocks
Man's folly.

The Cathedral towers high towards God.
Soft glow of sunset
In lambent hues
Bedecks the pile
With opalescent gems
And streams in holy light
Through storied glass.
The human soul, inspired,
Sings hymns of praise to God,
Who with His all-embracing love
Rules the world.
But yet—
From out a shadow
Dim as fate,
A writhing gargoyle mocks
Man's hate.

Gargoyles,
Lurking in the shadows,
Though man is weak in folly
And blind in hate,
His hopes are everlasting,
His dreams, beautiful,
And still
Throughout the ages,
While you grin and writhe,
The Cathedral towers high toward God.

The Stratford Journal. —*Elias Lieberman.*

THE FIELD

"The World is my country, to do good is my Religion"

A COMMUNITY CHURCH ON THE NORTHWEST COAST.

Today all forms of government are broken or questioned; in religion nothing traditional or technical satisfies; the cry of humanity is "an infant crying in the night, and with no language but a cry," reaching for guidance that shall lead to peace that is permanent, to a fellowship harmonious and secure.

"New occasions teach new duties," so wrote Lowell in his appeal to his countrymen during the agitation of the slavery question during the Mexican War.

The People's Church of Seattle, Washington, is a movement calculated to meet the needs of the new occasion. A thousand fundamental questions call for answers. If not new, the situation demands that they be considered anew. The answers must be found in principles that are fundamental, in the eternal verities of God. Nothing but the correct religious attitude can solve and settle permanently the vital problems of our time. Merely accepting a belief in a theory has in it no vitality and no virility; ceremonies, however beautiful and becoming, do not avail. Eternal truth, borne on the wings of love, must be felt, lived, used. God lives and loves, must live in us and work through us.

The minister of the Peoples Church, Rev. J. D. O. Powers, was born a religious prophet. Twelve years he spent in preparation for the ministry. Of spotless integrity, with a vital enthusiasm for humanity, an ardent patriot, his father a veteran soldier still living, his work is one of prodigious industry and self-sacrifice.

For twelve years he served the First Unitarian Church of Seattle, served it with honor and usefulness. Every year his hold upon the community grew. During the World War no one in the State gave more lectures for the government than he. He has been in constant demand for addresses before societies educational, reform, philanthropic, social, political, and he has served in various capacities on every social welfare organization in the city and is today an active member of the Chamber of Commerce. During the February just closed he gave 80 addresses, including sermons, lectures, marriages and funerals, and this is only an average of every month for him.

For three months he preached in a distant part of the city, in addition to his regular work, organizing there a society which now has a fine chapel. One hundred members of his own church living in that district joined the new church, the University Unitarian Church. It is only justice to mention here an amazing error in a recent contribution to the *Christian Register*. It is stated therein that the University Church is the parent of the Unitarian Church of Seattle. The Unitarian Church was twenty-seven years old before the University Church was born. For twenty consecutive years the old church had for ministers those two men, able, consecrated, masterful, William Day Simonds and Jesse D. O. Powers. Not the least scar is on the record of either of them.

Last summer Mr. Powers, in obedience to his own growing convictions, and seeing the demand for a church more central and of a different policy, gathered about him a band of men and women of great ability and worth. The audiences have been large at every service, and more than once scores have been turned away for lack of room in an unusually large auditorium. The membership in full fellowship and the financial pledges of support are better than in the old church. The Sunday School has a corps of able teachers and is prospering surprisingly. Other branches are thoroughly organized, at work and happy.

The musical department is very fortunate in its leaders. Prof. Ryan, a professional singer, well known in the world of music, and Miss Orr, with a reputation as one of the best, are the leaders. Community singing prevails and is greatly enjoyed.

From the pulpit a deep religious feeling emanates. It is always the most reverent, warm, religious service that the writer ever attended, and he has been a minister more than fifty years. In the sermons there is no vagueness, no groping in the fog to discover something, no dissipation of forces, no uncertain note.

Mr. Powers has long had a vital hold on the people of Seattle. Familiar always with the last and best of the new books, at home in the results of scientific work, deeply sincere, a ready and magnetic speaker, his host of friends expect yet larger things of him, yet larger usefulness through his leadership in the People's Church. W. H. HARRINGTON.

Seattle, Washington.

CONVENTION OF WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM.

During the annual convention of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom to be held in Chicago on April 23 and 24, two interesting meetings will be open to the public:

On Friday, April 23, at eight o'clock, Frederick Starr will speak on "Mexico" in Lincoln Centre Auditorium. The public is cordially invited to hear him.

On Saturday, April 24, at seven o'clock, an International Dinner will be held in the Cafeteria at Hull House with short talks by many "Internationalists." Tickets, $1.00, to be had in room 1505 Lakeview Building.

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Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

SECTION FOR THE UNITED STATES

(Formerly Woman's Peace Party)

OBJECT:

To organize support for the resolutions passed at the Women's International Congress at the Hague in 1915 and in Zurich in 1919, and to support movements to further Peace, Internationalism and the Freedom of Women.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:

Miss Jane Addams, President, U. S. A.
Miss Emily G. Balch, Secretary-Treasurer, U. S. A.
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Mrs. H. M. Swanwick, Great Britain

CONSULTATIVE MEMBERS, Executive Committee, Section for U. S. A.:

Miss Grace Abbott, Illinois
Miss Lillian D. Wald, New York
International Office, 19, Bd. Georges-Favon, Gevena, Switzerland

NATIONAL SECTIONS:

Australia	France	Netherlands
Austria	Germany	New Zealand
Belgium	Great Britain	Norway
Bulgaria	Hungary	Poland
Canada	India (British)	Sweden
Denmark	Ireland	Switzerland
Finland	Italy	United States

GENERAL OBJECTS:

To promote methods for the attainment of that peace between nations which is based on justice and good-will and to co-operate with women from other countries who are working for the same ends.

SPECIAL OBJECTS:

Those indicated by the Standing Committees and for immediate action to oppose universal compulsory military training; to oppose all invasions of Constitutional rights, free speech, free press and assembly and minority representation in legislative bodies; to oppose invasion of Mexico for purposes of war; to work to amend the League of Nations Covenant if it is ratified by the United States and if not so ratified, to secure a true Concert of Nations to substitute Law for War.

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All American women are urged to join this Section for U. S. A. of the Women's International League by use of the appended slip.

Date.....

I hereby enclose one dollar for membership in the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Section for U. S. A., for the year 1920.

Name..... Address.....

I also enclose $..... as contribution to the work of the organization.

I wish to help in the work of the following committee.....

Make checks payable to W.I.L.P.F., Section for U. S. A., and send to Eleanor Daggett Karsten, Exec. Sec'y, Room 1616, 33 W. 42d St., N.Y. C.